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PAGE 01            STATE    324917   070025Z  
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	EB-01	OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	JUSE-00
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/054R		

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AF/C: RJFENDRICK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 324917

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL PGOV PHUM PREF RW  
SUBJECT: FORMER RWANDAN PM TALKS TO AF/C

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ON DECEMBER 5, FORMER RWANDAN PRIME  
MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS FORMER  
SPOKESMAN FRANCIS NSENGIYUMVA, MET WITH AF/C DIRECTOR  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02            STATE    324917   070025Z  
RENDER AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON TO DISCUSS HIS VIEWS ON

UNCLASSIFIED

THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA. DISMAS, WHO CURRENTLY RESIDES IN FRANCE, STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES OF ARUSHA. IN HIS VIEW, THE GOR WAS APPLYING THE ACCORDS SELECTIVELY, BASED ON THE RPF'S UNILATERAL INTERPRETATION. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER ASKED ABOUT HUTU MODERATES NOT INVOLVED IN THE KILLINGS WITH WHOM THE GOR MIGHT ENGAGE IN A DIALOGUE. DISMAS HAD NO NAMES TO SUGGEST BUT SAID THERE WERE GROUPS REPRESENTING HUTU MODERATES WHO COULD BE INVOLVED IN SUCH A DIALOGUE. DISMAS CRITICIZED THE NEW GOVERNMENT FOR NOT DOING ENOUGH TO CONTROL REPRISALS OR TO ASSURE REFUGEES THAT THEIR SECURITY, PROPERTY, AND BASIC RIGHTS WILL BE PROTECTED AND RESPECTED. HE CALLED FOR ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE KILLERS, DISARMAMENT AND DISBANDING OF THE MILITIAS, AND INTEGRATION OF INNOCENT EX-FAR SOLDIERS INTO THE RWANDAN ARMY. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS AND TO STRESS THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

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DISMAS'S PERSONAL STORY  
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3. DISMAS, A HUTU LEADER OF THE MDR PARTY WHO SERVED AS PRIME MINISTER FROM APRIL 1992 TO JULY 1993, WAS IN RWANDA AT THE TIME OF THE APRIL 6 PLANE CRASH. HE SAID THAT THE HUTU HARDLINE KILLERS CAME LOOKING FOR HIM ON APRIL 7 AND HE WENT INTO HIDING, MOVING FROM VILLAGE TO VILLAGE UNTIL JULY, WHEN THE FRENCH EVACUATED HIM FROM  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03            STATE    324917   070025Z  
CYANGUGU THROUGH BANGUI TO FRANCE. HE FEARED EVERYONE DURING THE APRIL TO JULY PERIOD, PARTICULARLY THE HUTU MILITIAS BECAUSE THEY WERE OUT TO KILL ANYONE WHO HAD A HAND IN THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. HE SAID HE HAD COME TO THE U.S. ON PRIVATE BUSINESS TO TALK TO THE WORLD BANK ABOUT A POSSIBLE POSITION AS A CONSULTANT.

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DISMAS SAYS ARUSHA STILL VALID, WANTS GOR TO APPLY IT  
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4. RESPONDING TO AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER'S QUESTION, DISMAS SAID HE BELIEVES THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS ARE STILL VALID AND REPRESENT THE BASIS FOR A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO RWANDA'S PROBLEMS. WHILE MINOR MODIFICATIONS TO THE TEXT MIGHT BE NECESSARY, THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF POWERSHARING, MILITARY INTEGRATION, AND RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES REMAIN VALID. DISMAS THOUGHT THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI SHOULD RESPECT ARUSHA; HOWEVER, IN DISMAS'S VIEW, THE GOR WAS APPLYING THE ACCORDS SELECTIVELY, BASED ON THE RPF'S UNILATERAL INTERPRETATION. HE THOUGHT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WAS NECESSARY TO EXAMINE APPLICATION OF THE ACCORDS.

5. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER ASKED HOW WE CAN IDENTIFY MODERATE HUTUS NOT IMPLICATED IN THE MASSACRES WITH WHOM THE GOR COULD INITIATE A DIALOGUE. DISMAS SAID HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE SPECIFIC NAMES; HOWEVER, THERE ARE REFUGEE ASSOCIATIONS THAT REPRESENT REFUGEES WHO WANT TO RETURN BUT WANT TO SEE ARUSHA APPLIED, THERE ARE POLITICAL FIGURES FROM ALL PARTIES WHO ESCAPED THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 324917 070025Z  
MASSACRES AND REMAIN ACTIVE, AND THERE ARE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO'S IN CONTACT WITH THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY; DISMAS THOUGHT ALL THESE GROUPS COULD BE INVOLVED IN A DIALOGUE.

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CONTACTS WITH GOR, OTHER MDR MEMBERS  
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6. AF/C DIRECTOR ASKED WHETHER DISMAS HAD HAD ANY CONTACT WITH THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OR THE RPF. DISMAS SAID HE HAS HAD SOME CONTACT WITH A FEW OF THE MINISTERS (HE MENTIONED THAT HE RAN INTO THE (RPF) REHABILITATION MINISTER AT A RWANDA MEETING IN THE HAGUE AND SAW THE (PSD) AGRICULTURE MINISTER IN PARIS).

7. RWANDA DESKOFF ASKED DISMAS WHETHER HE WAS IN CONTACT WITH OTHER MDR MEMBERS, EITHER IN THE NEW OR FORMER GOVERNMENT. DISMAS REPLIED THAT THE MDR MEMBERS OF THE FORMER INTERIM GOVERNMENT NOW EXILED IN ZAIRE HAD

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

"CONDEMNED (HIM) TO DEATH" AND HE HAD NO INTEREST IN TALKING TO THEM. AS FOR THE MDR MEMBERS IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, DISMAS SAID THAT THEY ENTERED THE GOVERNMENT "IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES." HE CRITICIZED THEM FOR JOINING THE NEW GOVERNMENT BUT FAILING TO DEFEND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MDR PARTY. THEY HAVE KEPT QUIET AND SIMPLY FOLLOWED THE RPF. (NOTE: CURRENT PM TWAGIRAMUNGU IS THE MOST NOTABLE MDR MEMBER IN THE NEW GOR.) DESKOFF MENTIONED THE RECENT MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE MDR IN KIGALI CRITICIZING THE RPF; DISMAS HAD SEEN IT AND THOUGHT IT WAS A "POSITIVE" STEP.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 324917 070025Z

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DISMAS ON CAMP SECURITY, THE MILITARY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY  
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8. DISMAS REVIEWED THE MANY NEGATIVE FACTORS AT PLAY IN THE CAMPS: THE OVERPOPULATION AND POVERTY, THE INTIMIDATION AND ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THE POPULATION BY EX-INTERIM GOVERNMENT LEADERS, AND THE KILLINGS AND ARRESTS OF THOSE WHO RETURN TO RWANDA, AS WELL AS THE PROBLEM OF SQUATTERS ON LANDS OF RETURNING REFUGEES. DISMAS THOUGHT THE GOR NEEDED TO MAKE GREATER EFFORTS TO END THE REPRISALS.

9. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER REPLIED THAT MANY REFUGEES HAVE RETURNED WITHOUT ENCOUNTERING ANY PROBLEM AND THAT WE UNDERSTOOD THE REPRISALS TO BE AN ISOLATED PROBLEM, NOT A SYSTEMATIC ATTACK ON THE RETURNING REFUGEE POPULATION. DISMAS AGREED THAT IT WAS PROBABLY NOT SYSTEMATIC, BUT WAS SERIOUS ENOUGH TO CAUSE FEAR AMONG THE REFUGEE POPULATION. HE SAID THAT, TO RETURN, THE REFUGEES MUST BE ASSURED THAT THEIR SECURITY, PROPERTY, AND BASIC RIGHTS WILL BE PROTECTED AND RESPECTED. DISMAS DID NOT THINK THE GOR HAD MADE ENOUGH EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEE RETURN AND HAD NOT PROVIDED THE NECESSARY GUARANTEES TO ASSURE THE REFUGEES THAT THE GOR'S ORAL REASSURANCES ARE BASED IN FACT.

10. RESPONDING TO A QUESTION FROM AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ON WHETHER OR NOT A LIST OF MILITIA MEMBERS EXISTED,  
DISMAS SAID THAT THE MILITIAS MUST BE IDENTIFIED,  
SEPARATED OUT, AND DISARMED. THEY HAVE NO LEGAL BASIS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 324917 070025Z  
AND SHOULD NOT EXIST. HE DID NOT THINK THERE WAS ANY  
OFFICIAL LIST OF MILITIA MEMBERS, BUT HE THOUGHT THAT THE  
RWANDANS ON THE GROUND WOULD BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY THEM.  
THE EX-FAR, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS A LEGALLY ARMED FORCE  
IN SERVICE OF THE STATE; IT IS THEREFORE NO CRIME SIMPLY  
TO HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF THE EX-FAR. THERE WERE  
CERTAINLY MEMBERS OF THE EX-FAR WHO WERE INVOLVED IN THE  
MASSACRES, AND THEY SHOULD BE PURSUED AND BROUGHT TO  
JUSTICE. HOWEVER, THERE WERE MANY OTHERS WHO WERE NOT  
IMPLICATED IN THE MASSACRES AND SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO BE  
INTEGRATED INTO THE NEW RWANDAN ARMY. AF/C DIRECTOR  
RENDER ASKED WHETHER DISMAS KNEW OF ANY SUCH EX-FAR  
MEMBERS TO WHOM THE GOR COULD TALK. DISMAS REPLIED THAT  
HE KNEW WHO WAS/WAS INVOLVED IN THE KILLINGS, AND CITED  
THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD AND THE CIRCLE AROUND COL.  
BAGASORA.

11. DISMAS LAMENTED THE FACT THAT EVERYONE IS SAYING  
RWANDANS ARE KILLERS WHEN IN FACT ONLY A DISCRETE GROUP  
WAS INVOLVED. HE REGRETTED THE DELAY IN ESTABLISHING THE  
INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL AND STRESSED THAT THE TRIBUNAL  
NEEDED TO GET TO WORK.

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DISMAS STRESSES REGIONAL ASPECT OF CONFLICT  
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12. DISMAS NOTED THAT THE PRESENCE OF RWANDAN REFUGEES  
IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES WILL HEIGHTEN TENSIONS IN THE  
REFUGEE RECEIVING STATES. IF THE REFUGEES CANNOT RETURN,  
THEY WILL BE TEMPTED TO LAUNCH GUERRILLA ATTACKS INTO  
CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07            STATE    324917   070025Z  
RWANDA FROM BORDERING STATES, WHICH COULD DRAW THE  
NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES INTO THE CONFLICT. HE NOTED THAT  
THERE ARE ETHNIC TIES THROUGHOUT THE REGION WHICH COULD  
FACILITATE THE SPREAD OF THE CONFLICT. IT IS THEREFORE  
CRITICAL TO FIND A SOLUTION THAT WILL ALLOW THE REFUGEES  
TO RETURN.

13. DISMAS ASKED WHETHER RWANDA CAN REALLY BE SOLVED AS  
LONG AS THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN BURUNDI REMAIN  
UNRESOLVED. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER NOTED THAT THE  
SITUATION IS UNSTABLE BUT THE BURUNDIANS HAVE MADE  
PROGRESS SINCE THE OCTOBER 1993 COUP ATTEMPT. THEY  
LEARNED FROM THAT EXPERIENCE THAT ALL SIDES WOULD LOSE IF  
THERE WERE CIVIL WAR. SHE STRESSED THE NEED TO RESOLVE  
THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM IN BURUNDI FIRST, SINCE THE  
REFUGEES HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON BURUNDI.

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WHAT NEXT  
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14. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER ASKED WHERE WE GO NOW. DISMAS  
SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS NOT  
INTERESTED IN DEBATE OR COMPROMISE. HE SAW FURTHER  
CLASHES, WITH THE POSSIBILITY THAT VIOLENCE WOULD SPREAD  
TO BURUNDI. HE SAID THE SOLUTION LIES IN JUSTICE AND  
POWERSHARING: THE CRIMINALS MUST BE ISOLATED AND RWANDAN  
GOVERNMENT MUST BE MORE BROADLY BASED. DISMAS ASKED  
WHETHER WE HAD THE IMPRESSION THE GOR WAS SERIOUS ABOUT  
APPLYING ARUSHA. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER REPLIED THAT THERE  
WERE MANY PEOPLE IN KIGALI WHO WERE FOCUSING ON ARUSHA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08            STATE    324917   070025Z  
PRINCIPLES AND THE NEED TO TAKE ACTION TO ASSURE THAT AN  
EFFECTIVE JUDICIARY IS ESTABLISHED, PROPERTY QUESTIONS  
ARE ADDRESSED, ACCOUNTABILITY IS ACHIEVED, AND CONDITIONS  
ARE IMPROVED SO REFUGEES CAN RETURN. SHE NOTED THAT IT  
IS NOT EASY TO GOVERN A COUNTRY AFTER WAR AND THAT THE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

GOR WAS WORKING TO ADDRESS HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AND HAD ACCEPTED UNAMIR AND HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS.

15. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER SAID THE U.S. BELIEVES THERE MUST BE A POLITICAL SOLUTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE RESPECTED. WE ARE PUSHING INCREMENTALLY TO IMPROVE SECURITY INSIDE AND OUTSIDE RWANDA AND TO ACHIEVE ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH THE TRIBUNAL. SHE ADDED THAT WE ARE INSISTING ON PROGRESSIVE CONDITIONALITY FOR OUR AID SO THAT IF THE GOR'S ACTIONS DOWN THE ROAD DON'T MATCH THEIR WORDS, WE CAN BLOCK FURTHER DISBURSEMENTS. DISMAS THOUGHT A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO THE CRISIS WAS NOT ENOUGH, THAT THERE NEEDED TO BE A GLOBAL APPROACH TO ESTABLISH A CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF POWERSHARING AND INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY.

16. DISMAS'S COMPANION AND FORMER PRESS SPOKESMAN, FRANCIS NSENGIYUMVA (WHO HAS TPS STATUS IN THE U.S.), CLOSED THE MEETING BY STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF CREATING A TRULY NATIONAL ARMY. HE SAID THE RPF JUST REPLACED HABYARIMANA'S HUTU ARMY WITH ITS OWN TUTSI ARMY. HE STRESSED THAT THE GOR MUST ACCEPT INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY; AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER ASSURED HIM THAT THIS IS ONE OF OUR KEY POINTS WITH THE GOR.

17. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 09 STATE 324917 070025Z

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UNCLASSIFIED